/9 cont./

114 [101] Our stay in Colombia lasted a year, from August 8, 1952, to August 12, 1953. During this time I worked first under the direction of Herr P. Pedro José Ramirez Sendoya as Investigador at the Instituto Etnológica Nacionál, beginning September 20, 1952, as Jefe de Arqueología at the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología. [126] After several weeks of inventorying the antiquities in the region of San Agustín we traveled to Tierradentro where we collected the field material of the present publication during the period from December 24, 1952, to April 24, 1953.

122 The scientific work in Colombia was financed by the Ministerio de Educación and the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología. On this occasion I should also like to express my sincerest thanks to the then Minister of Education, Herr Dr. Lucio Pabón Nuñez, and to the Director of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, Herr Dr. Antonio Andrade Crispino, for the help rendered. Here I should also like to thank the Vice-President of the Academia de Ciencias Naturales, Herr Prof. Dr. P. Enrique Perez Arbelaez, who, during the early period of my stay in Colombia, smoothed many paths for me. I am no less grateful to the colleagues of the Institute for the scientific help given to me, as well as to the workers in Tierradentro for their diligence in the difficult and, at the beginning of the rainy period, quite unpleasant work of digging.

126 122 For the research and travel equipment, a number of firms generously put material at our disposal. For the photographs published in this book I had the use of a Leica III f with Elmar /10/ 1:3.5 and accessories, as well as a Rolleiflex with Tessar 1:3.5. For special photographic purposes Rodenstock-Heligon 1:2.8 wide-angle lens, a Steinheil-Culminar 1:2.8 telephoto lens, and Proximeters I and II from H. Schneider & Co. were used with the Leica, and with the Rolleiflex the Rolleikin equipment with the Rolleinars 1 and 2. The interior shots of the grave holes and the native houses were taken with Osram SO and Philipps Pf 45 flash bulbs, as well as with Seuthe flash capsultes. Adox KB 17 and R 18, as well as Perutz Perpantic film, served as negative material for the photographs.

Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

/13 cont./

Negro de Narvaez, the principal rivers of Tierradentro. They drain into the Magdalena River, like all the rivers on the eastern slope of the Central Cordillera. The principal traffic routes of Tierradentro also lead to the Magdalena Valley, the most important one leading down to the Rio Paez by way of /14/ La Plata to Neiva or Garzón. Thus, La Plata forms the center of trade and communication for this area, which economically, however, is not yet very accessible.

Even the earliest chroniclers described Tierradentro as a land of "eternal up and down." As a matter of fact, despite its excellent climate for colonization, the large number of small rivers cutting deep into the mountains represents a great obstacle to accessibility for communication, without which more extensive agricultural production is not profitable. The impassability is one of the reasons that the Paez Indians here, with a total number of about 25,000 persons, have maintained themselves racially pure and, in a few mountain valleys, in a relatively original state culturally.

The climatic differences of this region lying less than three degrees of latitude north of the equator are considerable, depending on the elevation. Neiva, lying 472 meters high on the Magdalena River and the capital of the department of Huila, is one of the warmest cities of Colombia with an average temperature of 30°. Nevado del Huila, lying only 75 kilometers to the west in a straight line, is covered with eternal snow. In between there is an average temperature of 21° at 1,200 meters elevation and one of 11° at 3,000 meters. The predominant elevation of the settlements in the southern part of Tierradentro lies between 1,400 and 1,700 meters, which corresponds to a mean temperature of 18-20°. This is the best climate for the Colombian coffee. At the same time it is an excellent climate and elevation for the planting of sugar cane and maize and for cattle-raising, economic activities that only the colonists profit by in a commercial sense. The Paez villages lying in this climate are therefore extensively overrun by colonists, and broad stretches of land have been taken by them for agricultural use. Here the mountain slopes which

/102 cont./

175 glossary, p. 248/, and, by means of reservation laws, protected
177 the Paez from the gradually advancing colonists. In this way the
648 Paez were able to preserve their language and customs to a con-
[178] siderable extent, in contrast to the other mountain tribes of
Colombia, who have long since been absorbed in the Spanish-
175 Colombian culture. In the struggles for independence from the
648 Spanish crown under Simon Bolivar from 1812 to 1824, the Paez
fought for their liberation on the republican side under Gregorio
Calambás. Their leader was captured and shot. After the
victorious termination of the struggles for independence, Gregorio
Calambás became one of the martyrs of Colombian independence (*).

* According to V. A. Bedoya, P. J. Ramirez Sendoya, and G. Hernandez de Alba (VII).

175 The Pijao perished like the Guanaca. After having oc-
● 101 cupied, before the Conquista, almost the entire area of the
648 present-day department of Tolima east of the Central Cordillera,
[131] as the eastern neighbors of the Quimbaya, they perished in
countless battles with the Spaniards. As late as the eighteenth
century, remnants of them lived in the valley of the Rio Negro
de Narvaez, as neighbors of the Paez. They, called Bemb by the
Paez, as well as the Guanaca, spoke languages that differed
from the Paez. They could not understand one another.

178 Besides the Paez, the culture of the Guambiano, a
101 neighboring tribe called Mogweš by the Paez, has been preserved
114 to a certain extent up to the present day. The Guambiano in-
habit the west side of the Central Cordillera and today live in
the valley of the Piendamó around Silvia. The life and customs
of his tribe have been recently represented by the Guambiano
Francisco Tumiña Pillumbe in a number of very instructive /103/
drawings, each of which was provided with a brief text by
Gregorio Hernandez de Alba.

/105 cont./

C 162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists living south of the Rio Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo, Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines C that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt [316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on gold-washing in the Rio Paez, which is undertaken in primitive P fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees [563] in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes, [186] but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they at one time came there as slaves.

P 162 361 563 b) The Paez who north of the Rio Ullucus have settled both banks of the Rio Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila. They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist P population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo, [103] Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

P 162 103 P 114 121 P 181 648 101 c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila, Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present material, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unapproachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say: 1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez, 2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

/106 cont./

648 it was impossible for the Spaniards to conquer Tierradentro and
[101 181] subjugate the Paez.

Even today the Paez love their independence above all. And even though they cannot accomplish anything by force against the "whites," by which they mean the colonists and the Colombians in general, they nevertheless hate them with impotent fury. "Muiska pesu" (*), "white robber," is what they call the

* Concerning the transcription and phonetics of Paez words, cf. pp. 154-156.

colonists who took their land from them. The latter, however, more industrious than the Paez, need land for their numerous children. They cannot see why the best and virgin soil should remain unused in the hands of the Paez.

361 The rivers arising in the heights as a result of the water flowing down in the mountainous country form enclosed valley basins, each of which contains a village politically. These are, however, not villages in our sense, since the houses do not lie together, but separately, scattered on the slopes of the entire
123 valley basin as individual farms. This decentralized position of
361 a village rendered the ethnological work considerably more difficult, since one cannot keep an eye on "his" village and survey all the inhabitants together. Hence it is very difficult to become acquainted with all the people of the village, since in each case one must go great distances from one house to another and at the same time usually very laboriously climb a slope. How often it happened that the inhabitants were not at home at the moment or did not want to be seen or spoken to. For, at first, the Calderun did not by any means care to see us, and even after months of life and visits among them, the old people looked back with nostalgia on the times when /107/ all intruding whites were killed.
123 Today, moreover, not only whites, but even foreigners come to
[177] Calderas. "If we speak to them and treat them well," they said, "then more and more whites will come here." How often it happened that we visited one of the old men, who, I was told,

/164 cont./

439 cloth for trousers, and all European clothing. Furthermore, every type of ornament must be bought, such as necklaces, earrings, and finger rings, then cotton, since it is finer and shinier than sheep wool, and aniline dyes for dyeing women's belts and coca bags, since they are more brilliant and clearer than the native vegetable dyes. The trip to market and the necessary trade, however, are not undertaken because of an inclination for business, pleasure in bargaining or in underbidding or outbidding, but out of the necessity to procure an [438] article that they cannot make themselves. If it is at all [797] possible, one tries to buy the required things in the village, for example, from the missionaries, and the purchase with money or the trip to market is, so to speak, the ultima ratio.
437 They do not bargain. The man -- /165/ and it is almost al-
439 ways he who shops -- asks the price, and if it seems too high --
[462] as in most cases -- he says "too expensive." If the tradesman lowers the price, he usually buys; if not, he goes on to the next stand.

The traders are never Paez, but always white and mestizo colonists. They know, of course, about the disinclination of the Paez to bargain, and they charge too high a price to begin with, so as to ask a still inflated normal price after the obligatory "too expensive." Thus the Paez are naturally cheated. They let themselves be too easily dazzled by an attractive display or packaging, for example, by the polish or the silver paper; also a more expensive green or red comb is preferred over a black one. Fortunately, one might say, they never have much money and can therefore never spend too much.

126 The way in which I was obliged to acquire the women's
439 colored belts for our collection is characteristic. Since every woman possesses only two at the most, one to fasten her skirt and the other to carry her baby, any attempt to buy them was
[101] always useless. I had therefore bought at the market in Inzá a few women's belts which are made by the Guambiano, the tribe neighboring the Paez on the west, and are sold in Inzá.
[184] They are made of cotton, the white color of which in the freshly

/254 cont./

804 192 The period of a day is subdivided into the day (ẽn) and the night (kos). Early morning is called kosẽ; afternoon at the time when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the sun, is called ff'nze. Other subdivisions of the day are made according to the interval of an éšnetc, meaning the time it takes to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for "hour." The largest period of time is the month, ãte, which is designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a year the Spanish word año is used. In former times the word [221] enzte was used. It is the designation for the large annual communal fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The [226] [132] two rainy seasons, called nospá'nye, and the two dry seasons of the year, called sek, are not regarded as time intervals, but as seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

823 [491] No large geographical orientations or regional, individual divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes. ● [101] [186] Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera, in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation 123 484 area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way. 821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according to constellations.

202 [361] [203] It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of urgent news or questions, children are sent.

802 There are numbers only from one to six and ten. For the designations seven to nine the corresponding Spanish numbers are used. The Paez word for "ten" (kóse pémba) literally means "no more hands" and indicates that the fingers were used for counting. The toes are not used for counting; anything beyond ten is

/320 cont./

105 We are therefore obliged to regard the presence of the Paez in
172 their present settlement areas of Tierradentro as subsequent to the
174 archeological culture. Whether, as later immigrants within a larger population movement, they were the destroyers of the archeological culture, or whether they settled on the sites of the archeological culture only in the course of their wars with the
105 Spaniards cannot be clarified at the present time. /321/ The
172 latter assumption is corroborated by the fact that the reports of
174 the early Spaniards about the tribes that they encountered and
114 about their geographical position are not always clear. For exam-
131 ple, P. Manuel Rodriquez (1684) has the Paez living in the Páramo de las Papas, the páramo west of San Agustín, in which
101 rise the Magdalena, Cauca, and Caqueta. It is also remarkable
105 that the first Spanish reports do not mention the Guambiano, the
114 present-day western neighbors of the Paez. The assumption that
172 the Paez were affiliated with a newly immigrated, war-like
174 population is corroborated by the fact that the tribe of the Andaki /Andaqui/ living in the culture area of San Agustín at the time of the Conquista also had nothing to do with the archeological culture, but may possibly be regarded as the destroyers of it.

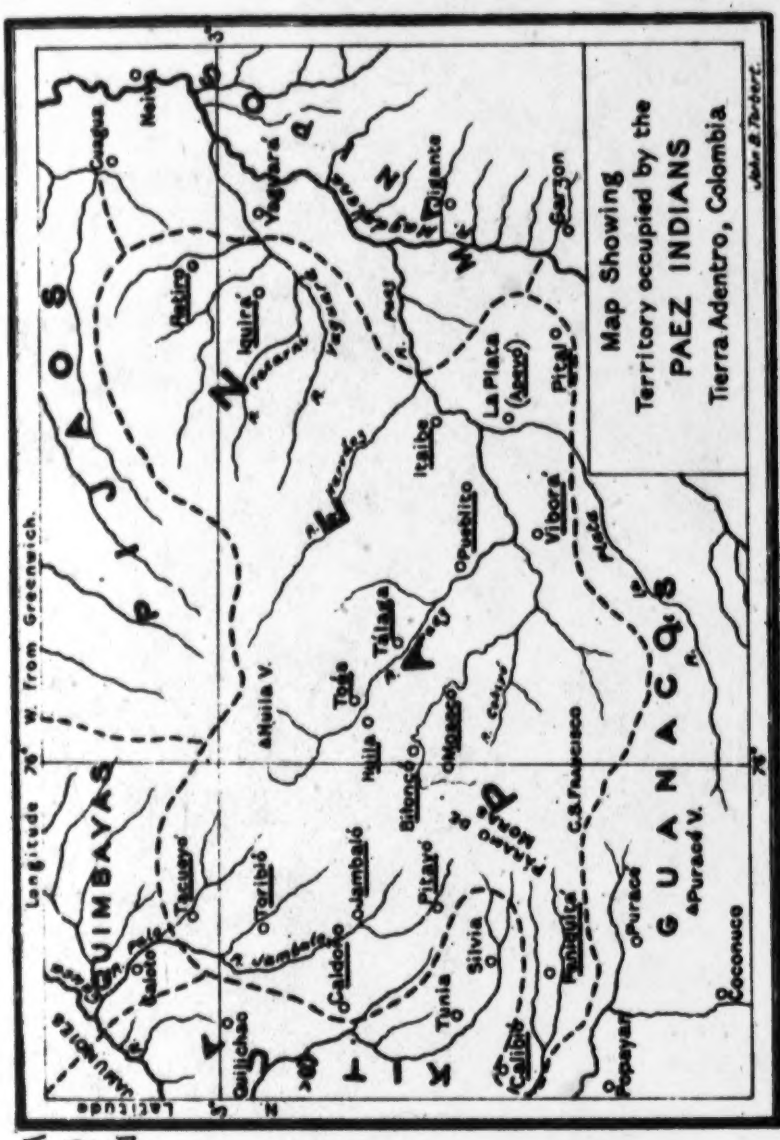
VI. List of Foreign and Technical Terms

104

Alcalde	Colombian designation for the burgomaster of a town or head of a district. Also the designation for local native authorities.
Ají	Very pungent mixture of ají pepper with onions and other spices.
Arroba	Spanish measure of weight of 12 1/2 kilograms.
Cabildo	Colombian community council. Among the Paez the designation for the democratically chosen village council.
Chaquira	Columbian designation for glass bead.
Chicha	(pronounced tschitscha) Native beer. Made of sugar cane among the Paez, of maize among most of the other Andean Indians, usually made of manioc among the South American Forest Indians.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

101
102
131



[P.304]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

[21] The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

FORMER OCCUPANTS. "PLANOS DE INDIOS." HUACAS

101 174 In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes, near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters, keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time.

[692] 181 162]

101 114 Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town of Jamundi, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes. I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets,

[103] [135] 172

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

tion which would correspond pretty well with the explanation given by subsequent authors, except for its last, untranslated member, which seems to imply a lack of geographical knowledge on the part of Father Rodriguez. According to modern maps, indeed, the term "Alto", or "Cordillera de Guanacas, seems to apply only to the group or node of mountains north of the Coconucos and Puracé volcanoes, and south of the towering Huila. This includes the "Páramo de Moras," which we crossed on our return from Tierra Adentro, but not the *Páramo de las Papas*, which is situated south of the Puracé, at the headwaters of the Cauca, Caquetá, and Magdalena rivers.

If we admit, then, that in Father Rodriguez's description the name Páramo de las Papas is merely a lapsus for Páramo de Moras, the area given by him corresponds pretty well with that which is recognized as such by Uricoechea in his introduction to Castillo's work, excepting that the latter extends this area northward to include the upper Yaguará basin. According to Castillo, this last was probably inhabited by another *parcialidad*, which he calls Bemb, "indios infieles de nacion pijaos." At Huila, when pointing northward to the valleys on the eastern slope of the volcano and asking who lived there, the Indians answered, "Los Pijaos", and among the Spanish people it is generally understood that the Paez and the Pijaos are one and the same. This is also the opinion of Reclus,[1] who says: "Among the various tribes that wandered through the thick forests of this [eastern] slope of the [central] Cordillera, the most barbarous were the *Pijaos* or *Paez*, who selected innocent victims to offer to their divinities. The enemy killed in a fight could be only indifferent to the gods; but a woman, a child, an inoffensive stranger, the pure ones, were welcome to the bloodthirsty genii." And these monstrous sacrifices must be repeated at short intervals to insure the permanent good-will of the gods.

The area given on the accompanying map (plate I) corresponds with the above-mentioned description by Rodriguez,

[1] Reclus, *Géographie universelle*, XVIII, p. 305.

[See p 304 – Analyst]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

101 only it might be necessary to modify it slightly if we were able
103 to localize all of the thirty-four villages or hamlets reputed to be of Paez stock and included in the following systematic list:

1. *Paez Basin*

As-at	Inzá	Suin
Chinas	Lâme	Tálaga
Chitoco	Mosoco	Toés
Cuetandó	Nátaga	Vitoncó
El Pital	San Andrés de la Plata	Vaqtúrá
El Naranjal	San José	

2. *Palo Basin*

Jambaló	San Francisco	Toribío
Pitaió	Tacueyó	

3. *Orejas, Coree, and Pioulama Mountains*

Cajibio	Caldonió	Paniquitá

4. *Vaguará Basin*

El Retiro		Iquirá

5. *Locality Uncertain*

Abirama	Osyó	Ricaurte
Caldera	Pueblo Nuevo	Tobóima
La Troja	Pusó	

101 The principal neighbors of the Paez Indians, according to the above description of their territory, were to the north — the Quimbayas on the western slope of the central cordillera, and the Pijaos on the eastern slope. To their east were the Manipos, in the Magdalena valley; the Guanacos were on both watersheds of the central cordillera southward; and westward on the plains of the Cauca valley, the Kitšua and the Jamundies. The Kitšua were probably the most advanced in culture of all these different stocks, and the ones whose influence is more easily recognized
[177 in the customs and idiom of the Paez. Their language is also
191] the only one which has come down to us in its integrity.

101 There is no positive proof of the identity of the Paez and
174 Pijaos, and it is fair to state that there are many data pointing to the fact that originally they were merely neighbors, and allied against the Spaniards, as, for instance, in 1641, when they de-

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

stroyed the city of Caloto, then on the Magdalena river, according to Alcedo. But it is not unlikely that, later on, during their decline, the Pijaos, Paós, and perhaps several other tribes became mixed, and those whom we now call *Paez* are the survivors in blood, customs, and traditions, of all these frequently named *parcialidades* or *naciones*.

Physical Characteristics

There is no special reference by former writers respecting the physical characteristics of these Indians, probably because of the apparent uniformity in type of all the tribes of tropical South America. According to my own very fleeting observations the Paez are small, broad-shouldered, with small bony hands, and feet broadened toward the extremities. Their skin is very dark, a character common to all Indians living at great altitudes. In the case of almost every adult, both male and female, coming under my observation, I observed a fine black pubescence covering all visible parts of the body. They appear to be generally strong and healthy, and their physical endurance is not below the average. On our trip across the cordillera each adult man carried at least thirty kilograms, and many of them more than fifty, and none complained of being too heavily laden, although the trail up to nearly 4,000 meters and down again was exceedingly rough and steep, requiring at times not only much exertion but equal presence of mind.

It is well to mention, after Uricoechea, that the Paeces are naturally inclined to warfare, and invariably join one side or the other in the unceasing Colombian revolutions. In early times they raided the Spanish establishments, the destruction of Caloto on two occasions (the first time in 1641) being still held by them in vivid remembrance as glorious feats of their ancestors. I was even assured that not long ago, during the last war, they were with difficulty prevented from making an incursion on the neighboring Cauca cattle ranches.

I was quite surprised to find among the Paez Indians a character that I had noticed previously in Central America, but of which no record could be found in current literature. I refer to

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines
245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups
249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con-
177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

23) /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized
437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant,
433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when
[731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez,
361 who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

/285 cont./

101 the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
36 Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[166-173] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls.
[161] The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar), 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

/364 cont./

571 in the cantinas, in lawsuits over land, or for religious fiestas.
434 These arguments are confirmed, on the other hand, by the
454 statistical table on income in that only five native families in the three parcialidades made up the deficits in their budgets of last year with sums saved in 1952.

Economy and acculturation

121 Before closing the present work we wish to describe in
177 broad outline the process of acculturation which is now going on in some Páez parcialidades.

● [101] The material on Páez culture which we have published and that which we are now elaborating on were collected in the parcialidades located on the right bank of the Paez River, leaving aside those located on the left bank of this river, owing above all to factors of public order which have been disturbing their peace for several years.

[178] The native communities of San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Calderas, Avirama, Suin, Chinas, Lame, Vitoncó, Huila, Toez, and Tálaga are more traditionalistic, live in accordance with the institutions of the culture, and for this reason we regard them as more "primitive." On the other hand, the community of Mosoco, suspended on the slopes of the Central Cordillera itself and extending into the very heart of the Paramo de Moras, is fully in the process of transformation.

[648] /365/ Our research was begun in the parcialidad of Calderas,
[101] isolated, by reasons of a geographical nature, from the principal centers of the "white" population and whose inhabitants have defended their independence at all costs and have been hostile to living with the "whites" (39). From here comes the greater part

39. Bernal Villa, S. "Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," pp. 289 ff.

[101] of our materials. But we also carried out systematic investigations in San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Lame, Vitoncó, Tálaga, and, lastly, in Mosoco.

7:Hemández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

The area of this study is delimited on the west by the valley of the Patía River and by the Cuembi, Nambi, and Cuaiquer Rivers, and on the east by the divide between the rivers running to the Pacific Ocean and those flowing eastward into the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers.

All this region is cool to temperate throughout the year, the extremes being at Túquerres, which lies at 3,104 m. (9,433 feet) elevation and has a mean temperature of 11° C., and Ancuyá at 1,358 m. (4,380 feet) with a mean temperature of 21° C. The greater part of the population lives between 2,890 m. (about 9,470 feet) with 12° C., as at Ipiales, and 2,020 m. (about 6,630 feet) with 18° C., as at Buesaco.

Farther north, the Cordillera Central forms a great mountain mass at the sources of the Cauca and Magdalena Rivers, the latter delimiting the Cordillera Oriental, which extends toward the northeast, entering Venezuela and stopping at the Atlantic Coast. In the Department of Cauca, the native peoples occupied the altiplanos and the mountain slopes of the central portion of the Andes and of the Cordillera Central and Cordillera Oriental. Some of the mountains are snow-capped, like Coconucos (4,800 m.; 15,746 feet) and such volcanoes as Puracé (4,908 m.; 16,102 feet) and Sotará (4,580 m.; 15,026 feet). There are high páramos, swept by icy winds, where only the frailejón (*Espeletia hartwegiana*) and certain grasses grow. Below these heights, the topography is hilly and grandiose, with a succession of hills, terraces, altiplanos, ravines, cañons, and valleys.

Some tribes, like the *Coconuco* and *Moguez*, live in the cold mountain spurs toward the Cauca River; others, like the *Páez* and *Guanaca*, in the high páramos with a climate like that at Moras (3,670 m.; 12,040 feet), Guanacas (3,518 to 3,750 m.; 11,541 to 12,303 feet), Las Delicias, and other places to the east. The *Popayanense* occupy the temperate Valley of Pubén. The *Pijao* lived in the last mountains of the Cordillera Central toward the Magdalena River, which, like the valley of this river, is low and warm, and extended to the Cauca Valley in the neighborhood of Buga.

The country inhabited by the *Popayanense* at the Conquest has an altitude of 1,760 m. (5,775 ft.) and a mean temperature of 18° C.; the *Páez* in Tierradentro, 1,650 to 2,620 m. (5,774 to 8,595 ft.) and 13 to 17° C.; the *Moguez*, 2,521 m. (8,270 ft.) and 14° C. at Silvia; the *Andaquí* in the region of San Agustín, 1,695 m. (5,561 ft.) and 18° C.; the *Yalcón* and *Timaná*, 1,100 m. (3,608 ft.) and 24° C.; and the *Pijao*, 873 m. (2,864 ft.) and 25° C. at Carnicerías, and 1,700 m. (5,577 ft.) and 18° C. at Pijao (Caldas).

Such differences in climate with the consequent differences in flora and fauna contributed to the variations in economy and culture. The high peaks of the cordilleras and the deep rivers were frontiers between the tribes, clearly separating them from one another—the *Moguez*

?:Hernández de Alba E-5½(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15

from the *Pdez*, the *Pdez* from the *Pijao*, the *Andaqui* from the *Tama* of Bajo Huila.

This extremely varied habitat offers a great range of food resources and of possibilities for agricultural crops. In the high, cold mountains and altiplanos, between 2,500 and 3,000 m. (about 8,200 to 9,800 ft.) elevation, where the mean temperature is 11 to 15° C., the principal crops were potatoes (*Solanum andigenum*), ullucos (*Ullucus tuberosus*), and cubios (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*). In the medium zone, between 1,600 and 2,500 m. (about 5,200 to 8,200 feet), with a temperature of 15 to 20° C., the main crop was maize (*Zea mays*), but arracacha (*Arracacia esculenta*), quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), were also cultivated. In the low, warm zone between 500 to 1,600 m. (about 1,600 to 5,200 feet), with a temperature of 20 to 28° C., the main crops were maize, sweet manioc or yuca (*Manihot utilissima*) and beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

The cold lands also produced in addition to these principal crops, maize, squash (*Cucurbita maxima*), wild fruits, birds including ducks (Anatidae), doves (Columbidae), guans (*Penelope*), mammals such as the spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus majori*), and other small, wild beasts like the armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), guaratinajo (*Dinomys branickii*), guatin (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa candelensis*), and small fish from the rivers and lakes. The guinea pig (curí or cuy, *Cavia aperea*), which is prolific in all the climates, was the only domesticated animal and is an important source of food of the modern Indians.

The inhabitants of the medium, humid zone were more favored by nature in that crops grew faster and in greater variety. In addition to the plants named, they grew achira (*Canna edulis*), auyama (*Cucurbita verrucosa*), beans (frijoles), and peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*). Among the great variety of wild foods were fruits, granadilla (*Passiflora ligularis*), guayaba (*Psidium*), guama (*Inga* spp.), avocados (*Persea Americana*), papaya (*Carica papaya*), guanabana (*Annona muricata*), and chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*), and such animals as deer (*Mazama rufina*, *M. gualea*, and *Odocoileus virginianus consul*), rabbits (*Sylvilagus fulvescens*), guinea pigs, various rodents, and large birds, such as chachalacas (*Ortalis*) and guans (*Penelope*).

Additional foods of the low, warm regions were sweet potatoes, beans (frijoles), and yams (*Dioscorea alata*); such fruits as pineapples (*Ananas sativus*), papaya, custard apple (*Annona squamosa*), cactus fruit (*Opuntia* spp.), and plantains (*Musa paradisaica*); and large fish from the rivers.[1]

[1] The scientific names of the plants were taken from Cortés, 1519. The mammals were tentatively identified by Dr. Remington Kellogg, of the Division of Mammals, U. S. National Museum, and the birds by Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Captain Sebastián de Belalcázar was the first conquistador who went north from Quito and entered the Andean region of what is today Colombia. He passed through the territory of the Pasto and Popayán Rivers to reach the region of Neiva and beyond in 1535–36.

At the time of their discovery, the native peoples north of Ecuador were very numerous, but the chroniclers, for example Cieza de León, who crossed this region in 1545 and is its outstanding historian, gave their locations and designations in a very confused manner. The historians classified the aboriginal peoples either according to small villages or groups of houses, slight differences of dialects, or slight cultural variations, so that the true classifications are very difficult to make.

Modern ethnological studies and a critical interpretation of the chroniclers somewhat clarify the cultural panorama of these regions, however, and it is now possible to list the following tribal divisions which existed just before the Conquest [1] (map 7):

Pasto.—The *Pasto* (*Koaiker, Cuaiquer, Quayquer, Coaiquer,*[2] etc.) (Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38), who had a uniform language and culture throughout their villages, were distributed from the town of Tuza between the Mira and San Juan Rivers northward throughout the mountains to the valley of the Patía River and toward the northeast to the southern boundary of the present Department of Cauca. Eastward, they extended to the country of the *Quillacinga*, which began at the Guáitara River (Cieza, 1880, ch. 33). In the west, they occupied the western portion of Nariño, but accurate information is lacking on some tribes, which like the *Abades*, *Masteles* (Juán López de Velasco in Guerra, 1942) and *Patía* of the lower Patía River, lived toward the Pacific Coast region. The Angasmayo River in *Pasto* territory was the limit of the conquest of the *Inca* Guaynacapa (Cieza, 1880, ch. 37). Ortiz locates this river southeast of Nariño but other authors identify it with the Mayo River farther to the north.

There was a large number of native groups or villages within this area. Among these Cieza mentions the *Ascual, Mallama, Túcurres,* (*Tulcan*), *Zapuys, Iles, Guaimatal, Funes, Chapal, Males, Piales, Pupiales, Turca*, some of which are south of the Colombia-Ecuador border, *Cumba*, and others, and adds that, "All these peoples and chiefs had and have the name of *Pastos*" (Cieza, 1932, ch. 33). Guerra gives other names of small groups (parcialidades).

Quillacinga.—East and southeast of the *Pasto* lived the *Quillacinga*. Padre Velasco (1841–44, vol. 3) identified them with the *Pasto*, but cultural and linguistic differences between these tribes leave no doubt that Cieza de León (1880, ch. 33), was correct in considering them a

[1] Castellví, 1936; Guerra, 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1940–41; Ortiz, 1937 d, 1938 a; and Ospina, 1938, 1939.

[2] The Coaiquer are sometimes treated as a subgroup of the *Pasto*. (See this volume, pp. 927–928, 937–938.)

Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

distinct people. The present city of Pasto was founded in *Quillacinga* territory in the valley of Atris, which was occupied by several small groups: the *Isancales*, *Paguanes*, *Zacuampues*, *Chorros* (Velasco, 1841–44, 2:153), *Mocondino*, *Bejendino*, *Buyzaco*, *Guajanzangua*, *Mocoxonduque*, *Guacuanquer*, and *Macaxamata* (Cieza, 1932, ch. 33). *Quillacinga* territory extended from the frontier of the *Pasto* on the west, i. e., the Guáitara River, eastward to the mountain ridges from which flow the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers. Its northern and northeastern limits are the high páramo of the Letrero and the sources of the Cauca River. Recent investigations show that it extends south to the district of Puerres (Guerra, 1942). (See also Ortiz, this volume, p. 911.)

Popayanense.—North of the *Quillacinga* in the province of the *Popayanense*, which is well delimited by the Cauca River valley and by the first spurs of the Cordillera Oriental and Cordillera Central, were numerous peoples who had the same general culture, although some of the first historians differentiate them. These tribes, which may collectively be called *Popayanense*, perhaps included the *Puracé*. The many small groups so lacked political unity, however, that Cieza said "That there were no men among them who were feared," i. e., they lacked chiefs.

Coconuco, Moguex, and Páez.—In the hills and small valleys of the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Central were groups of distinctive and strongly organized people. The *Coconuco*, the *Moguex* (*Guambía*), and the *Páez* lived on the eastern slope of the Cordillera, and the *Guamza* (*Guamsa*), *Malausa*, *Polindara*, *Palace*, *Tembio*, *Colaza*, *Zotara*, and *Guachicone* on the western slope of the Cordillera (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). Linguistically and culturally,[1] these tribes were very homogeneous. There were three important subgroups: (1) the *Coconuco*, *Cotara* (*Zotara*), and *Colaza;* (2) the *Moguex* (*Guambía*), *Totoró*, and *Polindara;* (3) the *Páez*, with groups on both slopes of the Cordillera Central. (See also Lehmann, this volume, p. 969.)

Andaquí and neighboring tribes.—The *Andaquí* lived in the mountains from the source of the Magdalena River to near Timaná and south to the high ridges which form the watershed between the upper Magdalena River and the Fragua and upper Caquetá Rivers (Velasco in Ternaux Compans, 1840, pp. 167–68; Pérez, 1862). This zone contains the important archeological remains known as San Agustín (Arroyo, 1907). The territory of the *Yalcón* (*Cambi*) was between the headwaters of the Río de la Plata and the Magdalena River (Simón, 1882–92, vol. 4, Noticia cuarta, ch. iii). The *Timaná* were found by the conquistadors to the southeast of this region, between the Guarapas and Magdalena Rivers centering around Timaná (Velasco, in Ternaux Compans, 1840, 3:26). The *Páez* lived to the north of the

[1] Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38, 2:186; Otero, 1938.

7:Hemández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

Falcón and *Timaná* in an area delimited by the high crests of the Cordillera Central on the west, the snowcapped peak of Huila on the north, the valley of the Páez River on the east, and the region of the Río de la Plata and the Moscopán River on the South (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32), although some groups lived in the valley of the Cauca River bordering the Cordillera on the west (Otero, 1939).

Pijao.—The *Pijao* (*Pinao*) were the strongest and most warlike neighbors of the *Páez*. They inhabited the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Central from La Plata to Ibagué, which included the region of the Río de la Plata and the left side of the Páez River, but extended to near Buga on the western slope of the Cordillera Central. The Páez River formed their frontier with the *Páez* and was their southwestern limit. They extended northward to the territory of the *Quimbaya*, and one of their divisions lived in the Cauca Valley, near Buga. (Simón, 1882–92, vol. 3, ch. 53, p. 330; vol. 4, ch. 24, p. 156; Ordoñez de Ceballos, 1938, chap. 28.) The *Pijao* were bordered on the north by the *Quimbaya* and *Panche*, on the east by the peoples occupying the hot valley of the Magdalena River, on the south by the tribes of the upper Putumayo and Caquetá Rivers, and on the west by the peoples already mentioned and by the *Gorrón* and *Lile*, near the Pacific Ocean. Near them in the Huila Plains were the *Tama*.

SOURCES

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7:Hernández de Alba E-5, ¥ (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

Today the special industry is the extraction of oil from the "mil pesos" palm. Hunting and war are the principal occupations of the men. They involve very important rites conducted by the captain or cacique, assisted by a deputy or second in command of a group. These rites are performed as follows (Albis, 1934):

In preparing for an attack on the *Witoto*, the deputy captain takes his men to hunt animals, while the women prepare chicha and "caguana." Upon their return, the hunters adorn themselves, dance, and drink chicha, and then go to their houses. The following day they catch "conga" ants, whose bite causes fever, and place them in a palm-leaf mat so that their heads stick out. The captain's wife picks up the mat and lets the ants bite her husband on his legs to make him strong, on his breast to make him brave, on his face to prevent him from sleeping, and on the chin to make him silent. The captains then make the ants bite the back and legs of the women, so that young *Witoto* prisoners will be diligent helpers. Afterward the captains each eat three ants mixed with water. If they have pains, the hunt will be successful. After this, the captain, carrying a turtle shell, speaks to the women, admonishing and scolding them, and then retires to a separate house, where he holds a conference with his men, forecasting the probable outcome of the fight and exhorting the men to avenge those who may be killed by the *Witoto*. That night they hold ritual dances and mimic animals. Two balsa-wood images are placed at the door of the main building and two Indians must pierce them with their spears while running. These two Indians are whipped after their feat by all those present. At dawn they plant a pole in the middle of the yard or square, pour water around it, and dance there until they have made mud, and then spend the day gathering food for the departing warriors. In order to be strong and to capture many young *Witoto*, each warrior has to place an arm in a bag full of "yuco" ants until it is thoroughly bitten. Upon departing, the captain gives his wife a knotted hemp cord (a kind of quipu). She unties a knot every night and thus knows when to expect him back and on what day the fight will take place. The day of the battle she remains in the hut where the hunters stayed the first day; otherwise they will be unable to capture any *Witoto* children. With other women she waits there 3 days for the men to return and then, after leaving there an "araraita," a palm branch, the women return to their homes to prepare more chicha. If the expedition is successful, the men return with great demonstrations of joy, but if it fails, they hit everything and bemoan their luck. The captain's principal wife upbraids her husband. After a community meal, all go home and resume their occupations.

Menstruating women throughout this area remain in a special house weaving hemp. They may have no visitors. At the end of the period, they bathe and return to their dwellings.

At childbirth, a woman must remain at home 3 months, while her husband stays in his hammock, refraining from labor and dieting lest his child die. After 3 months the parents anoint themselves and child with "jagua" fruit and resume normal life.

THE CULTURE OF THE MOGUEX AND PÁEZ

Although the *Moguex* and *Páez* have distinct territories and different dialects, their ethnology may be described together because of the great similarity of their economy with its agricultural basis, their social organization, and their general culture.